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GENERAL GRANT'S LETTERS

Grant, Ulysses Simpson.

GENERAL GRANT'S

Letters

TO A FRIEND

1861–1880

With Introduction and Notes by
JAMES GRANT WILSON
Author of "Life of Grant,"
"Sketches of Illustrious Soldiers,"
"Bryant and his Friends," etc.

T. Y. CROWELL & COMPANY
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Dedicated by the Editor

to

Mr. Hempstead Washburne

to whose courtesy

the possessors of this Volume

are indebted for the privilege of reading

the Letters addressed to his Father

by

General Grant

Introduction

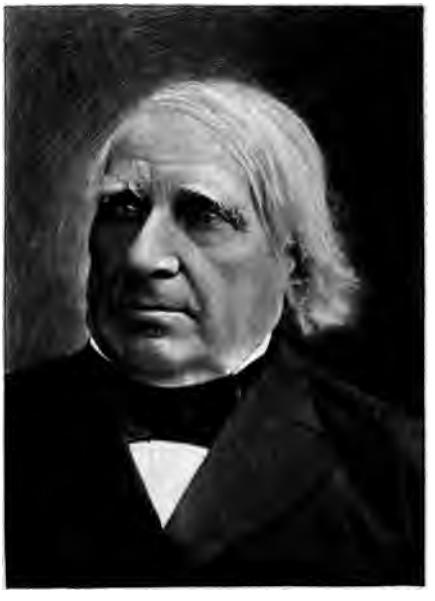
PERHAPS no other person not connected with the military service contributed in so great a degree to General Grant's success in the American Civil War of 1861-1865, as the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, to whom the following forty-eight letters and parts of letters were addressed, during a period of nineteen years. Beginning in the first year of the war the correspondence was continued uninterruptedly until after the close of Grant's second administration and his return from the extended tour around the world. The letters are certainly of no inconsiderable historical value, being dated in many instances from such famous battle-fields as Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and the Wilderness, and revealing in an interesting manner many of the strongest and most admirable traits of General Grant's character. These private communications contain his views upon men and affairs in the western hemisphere, as well as in many of the foreign lands which he visited. His

comments upon the character and result of British rule in India, and upon the progressive spirit of the Japanese, will be perused with special interest.

All but three of the letters contained in this collection are of a strictly personal character, the exceptions being Grant's official communications of January 23, 1862, November 13, 1863, and July 19, 1864, addressed to Mr. Washburne, Secretary Stanton, and President Lincoln. These were found among the General's two score and seven private letters. A portion of these, relating to the war, appeared in the Life of Grant (Great Commanders Series), while some of the others were published in the numbers of the North American Review, for July and August, 1897.

Elihu Benjamin Washburne (1816-1887) was a member of Congress from Illinois, where (Galena) at the commencement of the war, Grant was employed as a clerk. The two men first met at that time: they immediately became friends, and during the four years' conflict Washburne was the constant supporter and sturdy defender, in Congress and elsewhere, of the silent commander, who would never vindi-

1897



cate himself from the shameful charges that were constantly brought both against his private character, and also against his conduct as a soldier. When in 1869 Grant became President of the United States, he appointed Mr. Washburne his Secretary of State, who after occupying that high office for a few weeks was sent as the American representative to France. He filled that position with pre-eminent ability, courage and distinction, publishing after his return to Illinois "Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877," a very valuable illustrated work in two octavo volumes.

"The supremacy of Grant among American soldiers is secure," said General Sherman to the writer, at their last meeting, a few weeks before his death. Whatever judgment history may ultimately pass upon Grant, it may be safely predicted that among Americans, Washington and Lincoln alone will be placed above him. Gladstone, in a letter dated July, 1897, referring to a comparison drawn by the editor, between Washington and Grant, says, "America is a happy country if she can produce even a few men worthy to be named as approaching to the excellence of Washington."

One comfort is that great men taken up in any way are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man without gaining something by it. He is the living fountain of life which it is pleasant to be near. On any terms whatsoever you will not grudge to wander in his neighborhood for a while.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

Letter 1

Cairo, Illinois,
September 3, 1861.

YOUR very kind letter was received at Jefferson City, and would have been answered at once but for the remark that you were about to start for New York city and would not receive it for some days. I should be most pleased to have you pay me the visit here, or wherever I may be, that you spoke of paying me there.

In regard to the appointment of Mr. Rawlins,[1] I never had an idea of withdrawing it so long as he felt disposed to accept, no matter how long his absence. Mr. Rawlins was the first one I decided upon for a place with me, and I very much regret that family affliction has kept him away so long. The past would have been a good school of instruction for him in his new duties; the future bids fair to try the backbone of our volunteers. I have been kept actively moving from one command to another, more so perhaps than any other officer. So long

as I am of service to the cause of our country I do not object, however.

General Fremont has seen fit to intrust me with an important command here, my command embracing all the troops in southeast Missouri and at this place. A little difficulty of an unpleasant nature has occurred between General Prentiss and myself relative to rank, he refusing to obey my orders; but it is to be hoped that he will see his error, and not sacrifice the interest of the cause to his ambition to be senior brigadier general of Illinois, as he contends he is.

In conclusion, Mr. Washburne, allow me to thank you for the part you have taken in giving me my present position. I think I see your hand in it, and admit that I had no personal claims for your kind office in the matter. I can assure you, however, my whole heart is in the cause which we are fighting for, and I pledge myself that, if equal to the task before me, you shall never have cause to regret the part you have taken.

Letter II

Head-Quarters District of Cairo,
Cairo, January 23, 1862.

THE bearer, Captain A. S. Baxter,[2] who goes to Washington by my order, in hopes of doing something for the relief of this much distressed portion of our Army, is at present my District Quartermaster.

I am at last satisfied that I have an efficient and faithful servant of the Government in Captain Baxter, and anything that you can do to further the object of his mission will not only be regarded as a personal favor to myself, but will serve to advance the cause you and I both have so much at heart.

Captain Baxter can tell you of the great abuses in his Department here and the efforts I have put forth to correct them, and consequently the number of secret enemies necessarily made. I am desirous of retaining Captain Baxter in his present position, and if promotion to a higher grade is necessary to enable me to do so, I would very much desire that the promotion be given.

Letter iii

Fort Donelson, Tennessee,
February 21, 1862.

SINCE receiving your letter at Fort Henry events have transpired so rapidly that I have scarcely had time to write a private letter. That portion of your letter which required immediate attention was replied to as soon as your letter was read. I mean that I telegraphed Colonel C. C. Washburn,[3] Milwaukee, Wis., asking him to accept a place on my staff. As he has not yet arrived, I fear my dispatch was not received. Will you be kind enough to say to him that such a dispatch was sent, and that I will be most happy to publish the order the moment he arrives, assigning him the position you ask.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th our volunteers fought a battle that would figure well with many of those fought in Europe, where large standing armies are maintained. I feel very grateful to you for having placed me in the position to have had the honor of commanding

such an army and at such a time. I only trust that I have not nor will not disappoint you. The effect upon the community here is very marked since the battle. Defeat, disastrous defeat, is admitted. Yesterday I went to Clarksville[4] with a small escort, two of our gunboats having preceded me. Our forces now occupy that place, and will take possession of a large amount of commissary stores, ammunition, and some artillery. The road to Nashville is now clear, but whether my destination will be there or farther west can't yet be told. I want to move early, and no doubt will.

Letter iv

Savannah, Tennessee,
March 22, 1862.

I HAVE received two or three letters from you which I have not answered, because at the time they were received I was unwell and busy, and either your brother or Rowley were about writing. I am now getting nearly well and ready for any emergency that may arise. A severe contest may be looked for in this quarter before many weeks, but of the result feel no alarm.

There are some things which I wish to say to you in my own vindication, not that I care one straw for what is said individually, but because you have taken so much interest in my welfare that I think you are fairly entitled to all facts connected with my acts.

I see by the papers that I am charged with giving up a certain number of slaves captured at Fort Donelson. My published order on the occasion shows that citizens were not permitted to pass through our camps to look for

their slaves. There were some six or seven negroes at Donelson, who represented that they had been brought from Kentucky to work for officers, and had been kept a number of months without receiving pay. They expressed great anxiety to get back to their families, and protested that they were free men. These I let go, and none others. I have studiously tried to prevent the running off of negroes from all outside places, as I have tried to prevent all other marauding and plundering.

So long as I hold a commission in the army I have no views of my own to carry out. Whatever may be the orders of my superiors and law I will execute. No man can be efficient as a commander who sets his own notions above law and those whom he has sworn to obey. When Congress enacts anything too odious for me to execute, I will resign.

I see the credit of attacking the enemy by the way of the Tennessee and Cumberland is variously attributed. It is little to talk about it being the great wisdom of any general that first brought forth this plan of attack. Our gunboats were running up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers all fall and winter watch-

ing the progress of the rebels on these works. General Halleck no doubt thought of this route long ago, and I am sure I did. As to how the battles should be fought, both McClellan and Halleck are too much of soldiers to suppose that they can plan how that should be done at a distance. This would presuppose that the enemy would make just the moves laid down for them. It would be a game of chess, the right hand against the left, determining beforehand that the right should win. The job being an important one, neither of the above generals would have intrusted it to an officer whom they had not confidence in. So far I was highly complimented by both.

After getting into Donelson General Halleck did not hear from me for near two weeks. It was about the same time before I heard from him. I was writing every day, and sometimes as often as three times a day. Reported every move and change, the condition of my troops, etc. Not getting these, General Halleck very justly became dissatisfied, and was, as I have since learned, sending me daily reprimands. Not receiving them, they lost their sting. When one did reach me, not seeing the justice

of it, I retorted, and asked to be relieved. Three telegrams passed in this way, each time ending by my requesting to be relieved. All is now understood, however, and I feel assured that General Halleck is fully satisfied. In fact, he wrote me a letter saying that I could not be relieved, and otherwise quite complimentary.

I will not tire you with a longer letter, but assure you again that you shall not be disappointed in me if it is in my power to prevent it.

Letter v

Camp near Corinth, Mississippi,
May 14, 1862.

THE great number of attacks made upon me by the press of the country is my apology for not writing to you oftener, not desiring to give any contradiction to them myself. You have interested yourself so much as my friend that should I say anything it would probably be made use of in my behalf. I would scorn being my own defender against such attacks except through the record which has been kept of all my official acts, and which can be examined at Washington at any time. To say that I have not been distressed at these attacks upon me would be false, for I have a father, mother, wife, and children who read them, and are distressed by them, and I necessarily share with them in it. Then, too, all subject to my orders read these charges, and it is calculated to weaken their confidence in me and weaken my ability to render efficient service in our present cause.[5] One thing

I will assure you of, however, I can not be driven from rendering the best service within my ability to suppress the present rebellion, and, when it is over, retiring to the same quiet it, the rebellion, found me enjoying. Notoriety has no charms for me, and could I render the same services that I hope it has been my fortune to render our just cause without being known in the matter, it would be infinitely preferable to me.

Those people who expect a field of battle to be maintained for a whole day with about thirty thousand troops, most of them entirely raw, against fifty thousand, as was the case at Pittsburg Landing while waiting for re-enforcements to come up, without loss of life, know little of war. To have left the field of Pittsburg for the enemy to occupy until our force was sufficient to have gained a bloodless victory would have been to leave the Tennessee to become a second Potomac. There was nothing left for me but to occupy the west bank of the Tennessee and to hold it at all hazards. It would have set this war back six months to have failed, and would have caused the necessity of raising, as it were, a new army.

Looking back at the past, I can not see for the life of me any important point that could be corrected. Many persons who have visited the different fields of battle may have gone away displeased because they were not permitted to carry off horses, fire arms, or other valuables as trophies. But they are no patriots who would base their enmity on such grounds. Such, I assure you, are the grounds of many bitter words that have been said against me by persons who at this day would not know me by sight, yet profess to speak from a personal acquaintance.

I am sorry to write such a letter, infinitely sorry that there should be grounds for it. My own justification does not demand it, but you are entitled to know my feelings. As a friend I would be pleased to give you a record weekly at furthest of all that transpires in that portion of the army that I am or may be connected with, but not to make public use of. . . .

Letter vi

Camp near Corinth, Mississippi,
June 1, 1862.

INCLOSED I send a letter addressed to the Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, which I would be pleased if you would cause to be delivered with any recommendation that you may deem proper. Lieutant Dickey is the son of Col. Dickey of the Fourth Illinois Cavalry, and brother-in-law of the late General W. H. L. Wallace, who fell at the battle of Shiloh. Although Lieutenant Dickey has served under my command almost from his first entrance into service, I can not answer from personal knowledge as to his qualifications; but General Judah, who recommends him, is an experienced officer, and fully qualified to judge of his merits.

The siege of Corinth has at last terminated. On Friday morning it was found that the last rebel had left during the preceding night. On entering the enemy's intrenchments, it was discovered that they had succeeded in taking off

or destroying nearly everything of value. General Pope is now in full pursuit of the retreating foe, and I think will succeed in capturing and dispersing many of them. There will be much unjust criticism of this affair, but future effects will prove it a great victory. Not being in command, however, I will not give a history of the battle in advance of official reports. I leave here in a day or two for Covington, Ky., on a short leave of absence. I may write you again from there if I do not visit Washington in person.

Letter vii

Corinth, Mississippi,
June 19, 1862.

YOUR letter of the 8th inst., addressed to me at Covington, Ky., has just reached me. At the time the one was written to which it is an answer I had leave to go home or to Covington, but General Halleck requested me to remain for a few days. Afterward when I spoke of going he asked that I should remain a little longer if my business was not of pressing importance. As I really had no business, and had not asked leave on such grounds, I told him so, and that if my services were required I would not go at all. This settled my leave for the present, and for the war. So long as my services are required I do not wish to leave. I am exceedingly obliged to you for the interest you have taken in the appointment recommended by me, and also for the assurance that the Secretary of War receives it with such favor. I will endeavor never to make a recommendation unsafe to accede to.

I shall leave here on the 21st for Memphis, where my headquarters will be located for the time being. Western Tennessee is fast being reduced to working order, and I think, with the introduction of the mails, trade, and the assurance that we can hold it, it will become loyal or, at least, law-abiding. It will not do, however, for our arms to meet with any great reverse and still expect this result. The masses this day are more disloyal in the South from fear of what might befall them in case of defeat to the Union cause than from any dislike to the Government. One week to them (after giving in their adhesion to our laws) would be worse under the so-called Confederate Government than a year of martial law administered by this army. It is hard to say what would be the most wise policy to pursue toward these people, but for a soldier his duties are plain. He is to obey the orders of all those placed over him, and whip the enemy wherever he meets him. "If he can" should only be thought of after an unavoidable defeat. If you are acquainted with Senator Collamore of Vermont, I would be pleased if you would say to him that there is a young colonel in the Eleventh Illinois Regiment, a native of

his State, that I have taken a great interest in for his gallantry and worth. I mean Colonel Ransom.[6] He has now been wounded three times in separate engagements, but never showed a willingness to relinquish his command until the day was decided, and always declines a leave to recover from his wounds lest something should transpire in his absence.

Letter viii

La Grange, Tennessee,
November 7, 1862.

NOT having much of special note to write you since your visit to Jackson, and knowing that you were fully engaged, I have not troubled you with a letter. I write now a little on selfish grounds.

I see from the papers that Mr. Leonard Swett is to be called near the President in some capacity. I believe him to be one of my bitterest enemies. The grounds of his enmity I suppose to be the course I pursued whilst at Cairo toward certain contractors and speculators who wished to make fortunes off of the soldiers and government, and in which he took much interest, whether a partner or not.[7] He called on me in regard to the rights of a post sutler for Cairo (an appointment not known to the law) whom he had appointed. Finding that I would regard him in the light of any other merchant who might set up there, that I would neither secure him a monopoly of the trade nor his pay

at the pay table for such as he might trust out, the sutler never made his appearance. If he did he never made himself known to me.

In the case of some contracts that were given out for the supply of forage, they were given, if not to the very highest bidder, to far from the lowest, and full 30 per cent. higher than the articles could have been bought for at that time. Learning these facts, I immediately annulled the contracts.

Quite a number of car-loads of grain and hay were brought to Cairo on these contracts, and a change of Quartermaster having taken place in the meantime the new Quartermaster would not receive them without my order, except at rates he could then get the same articles for from other parties. This I refused to give. The contractors then called on me, and tried to convince me that the obligation was binding, but finding me immovable in the matter, asked if General Allen's approval to the contract would not be sufficient. My reply was, in substance, that General Allen was Chief Quartermaster of the Department, and I could not control him. They immediately left me, and, thinking over the matter, it occurred to me

that they would go immediately to St. Louis and present their contract for approval without mentioning the objection I made to it. I then telegraphed to General Allen the facts, and put him on his guard against these men. For some reason, however, my dispatch did not reach St. Louis for two days. General Allen then replied to it, stating that those parties had been to him the day before, and knowing no objection to the contract he had approved it.

The parties then returned to Cairo evidently thinking they had gained a great triumph. But there being no money to pay at that time, and because of the bad repute the Quartermaster's Department was in, they were afraid to take vouchers without my approval. They again called on me to secure this. My reply to them was that they had obtained their contract without my consent, had it approved against my sense of duty to the government, and they might go on and deliver their forage and get their pay in the same way. I would never approve a voucher for them under that contract if they never got a cent. I hoped they would not. This forced them to abandon the contract

and to sell the forage already delivered for what it was worth.

Mr. Swett took much interest in this matter and wrote me one or more letters on the subject, rather offensive in their manner. These letters I have preserved, but they are locked up in Mr. Safford's safe in Cairo. I afterwards learned from undoubted authority that there was a combination of wealthy and influential citizens formed, at the beginning of this war, for the purpose of monopolizing the army contracts. One of their boasts was that they had sufficient influence to remove any general who did not please them.

The *modus operandi* for getting contracts at a high rate, I suppose, was for a member of this association to put in bids commencing at as low rates as the articles could be furnished for, and after they were opened all would retire up to the highest one who was below any outside person and let him take it. In many instances probably they could buy off this one for a low figure by assuring him that he could not possibly get the contract, for if he did not retire it would be held by the party below.

You will see by the papers that I am on the

move. If troops are furnished me to keep open my lines of communication, there will be no delays in this department. Once at Grenada I can draw supplies from Memphis, and save our present very long line.

I do not see my report of the battle of Iuka in print. As the papers in General Rosecrans's interest have so much misrepresented that affair, I would like to see it in print. I have no objection to that or any other general being made a hero of by the press, but I do not want to see it at the expense of a meritorious portion of the army. I endeavored in that report to give a plain statement of facts, some of which I would never have mentioned had it not become necessary in defense of troops who have been with me in all, or nearly all, the battles where I have had the honor to command. I have never had a single regiment disgrace itself in battle yet, except some new ones at Shiloh that never loaded a musket before that battle. . . .

Letter ix

Young's Point, Mississippi,
March 10, 1863.

NOW that Congress has adjourned, I have thought possible you might want to make a visit to this part of the country. I need not assure you that I would be most glad to see you here, and have you stay during the contest which will take place in the next thirty days from this writing. You will have time to join me if mails are prompt. The canal through would have been a success by to-day but for the great rise of water. The river is now several feet above the whole country hereabout, and our canal was dependent for its success upon keeping the water out of it. The upper dam has broken and submerged things generally. To stop this off will take a number of days, but we will do it. In the meantime, so far as I now know and have official reports, the Yazoo Pass expedition is going to prove a perfect success. This is highly important if for no other purpose than to destroy the transpor-

tation and embyro gunboats the enemy had there. They have been working for one year on one boat of gigantic proportions up that stream.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, a young man of great merit, who has been put on General Hunter's staff, but who was on mine as a lieutenant, and I objected to relieving until the present campaign is over, writes to Rawlins in a private letter that our success in getting into Yazoo Pass is due to the energy of C. C. Washburn. He felt an interest in the enterprise and took hold with a will, and with men worthy of the object to be accomplished. I have ordered the army corps of McPherson through that way with additional forces, making him effective men to the number of about twenty-eight thousand. McPherson is one of my best men, and is fully to be trusted. Sherman stands in the same category. In these two men I have a host. They are worth more than a full brigade each. McPherson will effect a lodgment on the high lands on the Yazoo River east bank, and will co-operate with the troops from here. The class of transports adapted to the pass being so limited, some delay

will necessarily take place in getting them to their destination. I have sent up the river for all the small class of boats that can be got.

We are going through a campaign here such as has not been heard of on this continent before. The soldiers see the position of the enemy in front of them, but I presume do not see how they are to attack. Their camp ground is several feet below water, held in its place by the levees. Constant rains falling keep the roads almost impassable. With all this the men are in good spirits, and feel confident of ultimate success.

The health of this command is a subject that has been very much exaggerated by the press. I will venture the assertion that there is no army now in the field showing so large a proportion of those present with their commands being ready for duty. Really our troops are more healthy than could possibly have been expected, with all their trials. Although I have told you but little of plans here, it is more than I am in the habit of writing on this subject. You will excuse me, therefore, from saying how I expect to co-operate with McPherson, at least

until you come down. General Washburn will have command of a very important cavalry expedition from the Yazoo River if all other plans succeed. . .

Letter x

Vicksburg, Mississippi,
August 30, 1863.

YOUR letter of the 8th of August, inclosing one from Senator Wilson[8] to you, reached here during my temporary absence to the northern part of my command; hence my apparent delay in answering. I fully appreciate all Senator Wilson says. Had it not been for General Halleck and Dana,[9] I think it altogether likely I would have been ordered to the Potomac. My going could do no possible good. They have there able officers who have been brought up with that army, and to import a commander to place over them certainly could produce no good. While I would not positively disobey an order, I would have objected most vehemently to taking that command or any other, except the one I have. I can do more with this army than it would be possible for me to do with any other without time to make the same acquaintance with others I have with this. I know that the sol-

diers of the Army of the Tennessee can be relied on to the fullest extent. I believe I know the exact capacity of every general in my command to lead troops, and just where to place them to get from them their best services. This is a matter of no small importance. . . . The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stephens acknowledges the cornerstone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and cannot be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South if we were to make peace to-day, guaranteeing to the South all their former constitutional privileges. I never was an abolitionist, not even what could be called antislavery, but I try to judge fairly and honestly, and it became patent to my mind early in the rebellion that the North and South could never live at peace with each other except as one nation, and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace reestablished, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled.

Rawlins and Maltby[10] have been appointed

brigadier-generals. These are richly deserved promotions. Rawlins especially is no ordinary man. The fact is, had he started in this war in the line instead of in the staff, there is every probability he would be to-day one of our shining lights. As it is, he is better and more favorably known than probably any other officer in the army who has filled only staff appointments. Some men, too many of them, are only made by their staff appointments, while others give respectability to the position. Rawlins is of the latter class. . . .

Letter xi

Head-Quarters,
Military Division of the Mississippi,
Chattanooga, Tennessee, November 13, 1863.

SOME of the citizens of Northern Illinois have expressed the conviction that a regiment of cavalry can be raised in a short time from that section of the state if special authority be given the Governor to accept them, and have desired that I obtain the authority for them. I want no special favor for myself, and cannot ask the desired authority on that ground. If, however, it is the policy of the Government to accept new organizations, I would recommend that authority be given Governor Yates to accept a regiment of cavalry to be raised in Northern Illinois.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

Letter xii

Chattanooga, Tennessee,
December 2, 1863.

FOR the last three weeks I have not only been busy, but have had company occupying my room, making it almost impossible for me to write anything. Last week was a stirring time with us, and a magnificent victory was won. I am sorry you could not be here. The spectacle was grand beyond anything that has been or is likely to be on this continent. It is the first battlefield I have ever seen where a plan could be followed and from one place the whole field be within one view. At the commencement the battle line was fifteen miles long. Hooker on our right soon carried the point of Lookout Mountain, and Sherman the north end of Missionary Ridge, thus shortening the line by five or six miles and bringing the whole within one view. Our troops behaved most magnificently, and have inflicted on the enemy the heaviest blow they have received during the war. . . .[11]

Letter xiii

Chattanooga, Tennessee,
December 12, 1863.

ALL is well with me. Everything looks bright and favorable in this command. I feel under many obligations to you for the interest you have taken in my welfare. But recollect that I have been highly honored already by the Government, and do not ask or feel that I deserve anything more in the shape of honors or promotions. A success over the enemy is what I crave above everything else, and desire to hold such an influence over those under my command as to enable me to use them to the best advantage to secure this end.

Letter xiv

Culpepper C. H., Virginia,
May 1, 1864.

PLEASE permit me to call the attention of Congress, through you, to the fact that the law creating the grade of Lieutenant-General, and fixing the pay and allowances of staff officers serving with the Lieutenant-General, simply revived old laws. Under these his aides, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, receive only the pay and allowances of officers of their grade in the infantry. Under more recent Acts of Congress all other staff officers receive the pay and allowances of cavalry officers. Major-generals commanding army corps have four staff officers with the rank of lieutenant-colonel who receive cavalry pay. It certainly never was contemplated that the staff of a higher grade and command should receive less pay. I hope that Congress will correct this.

Letter xv

Cold Harbor, Virginia,
June 9, 1864.

YOUR two letters inclosing orders published by Major-General Washburn have been received. I highly approve the course he is taking, and am glad to see that General Slocum is pursuing a similar course about Vicksburg. I directed some days ago that the Sixteenth Corps staff should report to your brother. I recommend, however, that no commander be named for the Sixteenth Corps until Sherman is heard from, to know whether he would not prefer the consolidation of that portion of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Corps in the field into one corps, and that serving in garrison from these two corps into another. It makes but little difference, however, about this, for as soon as this campaign is over it is probable there will be a reconstruction of departments and commands.

. . . . Everything is progressing favorably, but slowly. All the fight, except defensive and be-

hind breastworks, is taken out of Lee's army. Unless my next move brings on a battle, the balance of the campaign will settle down to a siege. . . .

Letter xvi[12]

Head-Quarters, Armies of the United States, City Point, Virginia, July 19, 1864.

IN my opinion there ought to be an immediate call for say 300,000 men to be put in the field in the shortest possible time. The presence of this number of reinforcements would save the annoyance of raids, and would enable us to drive the enemy back from his present front, particularly from Richmond, without attacking fortifications. The enemy now have their last men in the field. Every depletion of their army is an irreparable loss. Desertions from it are now rapid. With the prospect of large additions to our force these desertions would increase. The greater number of men we have, the shorter and less sanguinary will be the war.

I give this entirely as my view and not in any spirit of dictation, always holding myself in readiness to use the material given me to the best advantage I know how.

To A. Lincoln, *President.*

Letter xvii

City Point, Virginia,
July 23, 1864.

YOUR letter of the 17th, inclosing one from General Scott, is just received. I inclose to you my answer to the general, which please forward to him. All are well here, and buoyant and full of hope. I wish people North could be as hopeful as our troops who have to do the fighting are. I cannot write you what I expect to do here. That Maryland raid upset my plans, but I will make an attempt to do something before many days. . . .

Letter xviii

City Point, Virginia,
August 16, 1864.

YOUR letter asking for autographs to send to Mrs. Adams, the wife of our Minister to England, was duly received. She had also sent to Mr. Dana for the same thing, and his requisition, he being with me at the time, was at once filled. I have directed Colonel Bowers to send with this a few of the original dispatches telegraphed from here. They have all been hastily written, and not with the expectation of ever being seen afterward, but will, I suppose, answer as well as anything else, or as if they had been written especially for the purpose of sending. . . .

I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last men. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched

positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is visible if we will but be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance.

I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope for a counter-revolution. They hope for the election of the peace candidate. In fact, like Micawber, they hope that something will turn up. Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of the disgrace of our allowing separation. To have peace "on any terms" the

South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

Letter xix

City Point, Virginia,
December 23, 1864.

I SEE some objections are raised to Meade's confirmation as major-general in the regular army. What the objections are I do not know, and cannot therefore address myself to them. I am very sorry this should be so. General Meade is one of our truest men and ablest officers. He has been constantly with that army, confronting the strongest, best-appointed, and most confident army in the South. He therefore has not had the same opportunity of winning laurels so distinctively marked as have fallen to the lot of other generals. But I defy any one to name a commander who could do more than he has done with the same chances. I am satisfied that with a full knowledge of the man, what he has done, and the circumstances attending all his military acts, all objections would be removed. I wrote a letter to Senator Wilson to-day in his behalf which I hope will have some weight. If you can put in

a word with some of the other Senators, particularly those who oppose his confirmation, and are willing to do it, I will feel much obliged.

Letter xx

City Point, Virginia,
January 24, 1865.

YOUR letter announcing the completion of the medal[13] was duly received, and not answered because I expected to be in Washington about as early as a letter would get there. I did go, but not as early by a day or two as I expected, and then was in such haste that I saw no one out of the War and my own office. I can hardly say when I will be up again. Not for a week or two probably. I do not want the medal here, where there would be such danger of losing it. You can therefore keep it where you deem best until I am ready to take charge of it. . . .

We have had quite an exciting time here since 3 A. M. to-day. The heavy freshet we have been having the last few days has washed away some of our obstructions in the James. About that hour four of the enemy's gunboats started down the river, and one or two of them actually passed the obstructions. Providence seemed

to be on our side. Our navy certainly was not. Notwithstanding several days' notice had been given, not a single preparation seemed to have been made to receive such a visit. Fortunately, however, two of the enemy's boats grounded near the Howlett House, and those that had passed down turned back. Two of the enemy's boats were sunk and one disabled. The two aground were well pummeled for several hours, and must both of them have been injured, though the report I get is: Two sunk, one disabled. This was all done from land batteries. The naval force left here is not adequate to the work with the obstructions removed. I hope, however, to have all right. We have all been very busy since the 3d, and will have everything right before there is any let up.

Letter xxi

City Point, Virginia,
February 23, 1865.

INCLOSED I send you a letter just received from Colonel Duff, late of my staff. I should be delighted if an act should pass Congress giving the commander of the army a "chief of staff" with the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army. It is necessary to have such an officer, and I see no reason why the law should not give it. It would also reward an officer who has won more deserved reputation in this war than any other who has acted throughout purely as a staff officer. I write to you instead of to Duff, knowing your personal friendship for Rawlins as well as myself, and because you are in a place to help the thing along if you think well of it.

Mrs. Grant will not be in Washington to attend the inauguration, but will be returning North soon after. She would like Mrs. W. to make her a long visit, if she can, before she re-

turns West. Can you not make a run down here and bring Mrs. Washburn with you? Everything looks like dissolution in the South. A few days more of success with Sherman will put us where we can crow loud.

N. P. Banks

Letter xxii

Washington, D. C.,
May 21, 1865.

I HAVE just received your letter of the 18th. It has never been my intention to give up Illinois as my home. The house in Philadelphia was presented to me, I believe, entirely by the Union League of that city. I was not aware the project was under way until the money for the purchase was mostly subscribed, and then I did not know the parties interesting themselves in the matter. I had selected Philadelphia as a place for my family, where the children could have good schools and be near, so that I might see them whenever I had a leisure day.

It would look egotistical to make a parade in the papers about where I intend to claim as my home, but I will endeavor to be in Galena at the next election and vote there, and declare my intention of claiming that as my home and intention of never casting a vote elsewhere without first giving notice.

I feel very grateful to the citizens of Illinois generally, and to those of Jo Daveiss County and yourself in particular, for the uniform support I have received from that quarter. Without that support it would now matter but little where I might claim a residence. I might write a letter to Mr. Stuart,[14] chairman of the Christian Commission, and the most active member of the Union League of Philadelphia, in getting up the subscription for my house, stating what I owe to the State of Illinois, and that he and his friends must not think hard of me for holding on to Galena as my home.

I will hear from you again before doing anything in this matter. At present I am keeping house in Georgetown, and have my family with me. Neither they nor I will be in Philadelphia again, unless it be for a few days, before fall.

Letter xxiii

Washington, D. C.,
November 9, 1865.

I WILL be in my new house by Christmas. Without furnishing the fourth story I will have abundance of room for myself and friends. If Mrs. Washburn comes on to visit Washington this winter, bring her to our house. I shall visit New York City a few days next week to close up the papers on my house purchase, and when I return go South on an inspection tour. Once back from that I shall square down for hard work as long as Congress is in session. . . .

Letter xxiv

Head-Quarters, Armies of the United States,
August 16, 1866.

I INCLOSE you a letter from Sherman on the subject of Atchison's appointment on his staff, and also an extract from a semi-official letter of a subsequent date on the same subject. Sherman feels every disposition to accommodate both you and me. But it is a hard test to ask a man to dismiss a staff officer who has been with him through the war, and who he likes, to take one who has done no service with him. I do not know that McCoy or Dayton have received commissions in the regular army. If they have not, or do not, they will not be eligible for their staff positions long. Campbell has invited me to be present in Galena on the 9th of November. This date seems to be fixed with the view of having me there at the election. I have no objection to being in Galena at that time, but do not think it proper for an army officer, particularly the army commander, to take part in elections.

Your friendship for me has been such that I should not hesitate to support you for personal reasons, on the ground that there is no one who cannot recognize great acts of friendship.

Letter xxv

Washington, D. C.,
March 4, 1867.

YOUR telegraphic dispatch in favor of the confirmation of General Dix,[15] also your letter, partly on the same subject, were duly received. I lost no time in communicating the substance of your dispatch to as many Senators as I could. I am glad to be able to announce to you this morning a fact which you will, no doubt, learn by telegraph long before this reaches you, that the Senate has confirmed him.

Reconstruction measures have passed both houses of Congress over one of the most ridiculous veto messages that ever emanated from any President.[16] Jerry Black[17] is supposed to be the author of it. He has been about Washington for some time, and I am told has been a great deal about the White House. It is a fitting end to all our controversy (I believe this last measure is to be a solution unless the President proves an obstruction) that the man who

tried to prove, at the beginning of our domestic difficulties, that the nation had no constitutional power to save itself is now trying to prove that the nation has not now the power, after a victory, to demand security for the future. I hope you will see this message, Reverdy Johnson's remarks, and Governor Brown's (of Georgia) letter, and contrast the two latter with the former.

I am sorry to learn from your letter that your health has not improved. I thought that freedom from care, with the witticisms of Jones, would cure you. I hope it will yet have that effect.

I see no chance of getting abroad this year. Do not show what I have said on political matters to any one. It is not proper that a subordinate should criticise the acts of his superiors in a public manner. I rely upon our personal relations, however, to speak to you freely as I feel upon all important matters.

Give my kindest regards to Jones. Tell him not to fail to keep his journal up, ready for publication on his return. I rely on the proceeds of the sale of that journal to save the earnings of our horse rail road to go into the hands of

the stockholders. You know Jones must be supported, and the horse concern is a "bird in hand." Hoping to hear soon from you again, and that your health is much improved, I remain, as ever, your friend

Letter xxvi

Washington, D. C.,
April 5, 1867.

EVERYTHING is getting on well here under the Congressional Reconstruction Bill, and all will be well if administration and copperhead influence do not defeat the objects of that measure. So far there has been no absolute interference with the acts of district commanders, all of whom are carrying out the measures of Congress according to the spirit of their acts, but much dissatisfaction has been expressed at Sheridan's removal of the New Orleans civil officers. Sheridan has given public satisfaction, however. In his private capacity he shows himself the same fearless, true man that he did in the field. He makes no mistakes.

I see no possible chance of getting abroad this year. I am not egotistical enough to suppose that my duties cannot be performed by others just as well as myself, but Congress has made it my duty to perform certain offices, and whilst

there is an antagonism between the executive and legislative branches of the Government, I feel the same obligation to stand at my post that I did whilst there were rebel armies in the field to contend with. . .

Letter xxvii

Galena, Illinois,
September 23, 1868.

I AM glad to see Congress found it expedient to adjourn without further legislation. I feared the effect of legislation at this time, and then, too, if Congress had remained in session it would prevent Andrew Johnson from taking his proposed trip to East Tennessee. I have as much affection for him as Frank Blair had for the "Fennigans," and would go just as far as Frank would go to see him off, and would hold out every inducement to have him remain.

My time passes very pleasantly and quietly here, and I have determined to remain until some time after the October elections. I will aim to be in Washington a few, but a few, days before the November election. There is nothing particularly stirring occurring here. A person would not know there was a canvass going on if it were not for the accounts we read in the papers of great gatherings all over the country.

Please remember me to Mr. Alexander T. Stewart, Mr. Moses H. Grinnell, and Mr. William E. Dodge, who all have taken great interest in my welfare, even before they knew me personally. The same might be said of hosts of other New Yorkers, but the names of all cannot be enumerated in a single letter.

Letter xxviii

Washington, D. C.,
March 11, 1869.

YOUR resignation of the office of Secretary of State, with reasons for the same, is received. In accepting it I do so with regret that your health will not permit you to continue in the office or in some Cabinet position.[18] Our personal relations have been, from the breaking out of the rebellion to the present day, and your support of me individually and of the army and its cause, such that no other idea presented itself stronger to my mind, on the first news of my election to the presidency, than that I should continue to have your advice and assistance. In parting with you, therefore, I do it with assurances of continued confidence in your ability, zeal, and friendship, and with the hope that you may soon be relieved from the physical disabilities under which you have labored for the last few years.

Letter xxix

Washington, D. C.,
April 9, 1869.

I HAVE been pained to learn that a man upon whom I have conferred an appointment should have been a lobbyist to Congress (in the McGarrahan case), and, failing to get the vote he wished from the committee having the matter in charge, should become the traducer of the committee, which, it seems, were within one of being unanimous in their report. It seems that . . . has been acting in this way, and very much to the prejudice of Wilson particularly, the chairman of the committee. It may be that . . . is misrepresented in this matter, but I understand that the correspondents who are traducing Wilson give . . . as their authority. Now you know, and I presume . . . did, that there was no man in the Fortieth Congress for whom I had a higher regard than for the Hon. J. F. Wilson,[19] and that he was one of the men whom I confidently hoped to have connected with my ad-

ministration. To have him slandered over my shoulders, I feel as I would to have you, who stood by me through evil as well as through good report, slandered in the same way. I do not believe you care to have with you as secretary of legation a man guilty of such conduct. Of course this is presuming his guilt before hearing the other side. I would be but too glad to have the report authentically contradicted. But as the matter stands now Wilson feels terribly aggrieved, and I think very justly so. . . . has no doubt read what the correspondents Piatt and Boynton have said in this matter, and knows how far they are sustained in them by his statements. His opinion of their opinion of the merits of the McGarrahan claim, or what they say about the report of the committee upon it, I have nothing to do with. The matter which concerns me is the statement that I have been influenced in my course toward Wilson by reason of dissatisfaction with his public acts, and that my notice has been called to them through some agency of . . .

Letter xxx

Washington, D. C.,
September 7, 1869.

OUR mutual and much esteemed friend, General Rawlins, expired yesterday, after, as you are aware, years of gradual decline. Although he has lived far beyond what his most sanguine friends hoped, yet his final taking off has produced a shock which would be felt for but few of our public men. He retained his consciousness up to within a few minutes of his death. Although I was not with him in his dying hours, I am told that his greatest concern seemed to be for his destitute family. I was at Saratoga when his rapid decline commenced. The first dispatch I received indicating any immediate danger was on Saturday evening, or night, after the last train had left. I was compelled to remain until Sunday evening, and arrived consequently about forty minutes after he had breathed his last.

I have been intending for months to write you, and have no special excuse for not doing so,

except that when I do get alone for an hour I always happen to have something to do. Whilst I have been away this summer I have been very much let alone by people who have an axe to grind, but there has scarcely ever been a minute when there were not callers. You will see by the official statements that the first six months of the administration have been successful in improving the revenue collections, and somewhat in reducing expenses. The showing is a reduction of forty-nine million of the public debt. The actual decrease is greater. McCulloch[20] kept no interest account, consequently on the 4th of March no interest due that day, or coupons overdue but not presented for payment, appeared as a part of the public debt. We have actually paid about six million in gold of old coupons which the statements give no credit for. In addition to this, we have paid probably as much as two million in currency on contracts fulfilled and purchases made before the 1st of March, which is another *dead horse* paid for.

Letter xxxi

Washington, D. C.,
January 28, 1870.

I RECEIVED your interesting personal letter a day or two ago, and snatch a few moments to answer it. In reality I have no quiet time in which to write letters, scarcely to read the current news of the day. The continuous press of people continues yet about as it was last spring. You will see by the papers that the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment is assured. With this question out of politics, and reconstruction completed, I hope to see such good feeling in Congress as to secure rapid legislation and an early adjournment. My peace is when Congress is not in session. My family are all well and wish to be remembered to Mrs. Washburn, the children, and yourself. The Emperor has been kind enough to send me pleasant messages several times, which please say to him have been duly received and are highly appreciated. Please convey to him my best wishes for a continuance of his good

health and the happiness and prosperity of the people over whom he has been called to rule. It has been the desire of my life to visit Europe and particularly France, but so far I have been too busy. If spared to get through my present office, I shall take a year or two to visit those parts of the world I have not yet seen.

Letter xxxii

Washington, D. C.,
July 10, 1870.

I HAVE received your recent letters, two in regard to General Robert Anderson. I do not know how anything can be done for the general at present, but I do know, or at least feel, that the American people will never permit his family to suffer. Should the worst happen, the general and his family will be taken care of. I would start the matter, and what is or has been done for Rawlins' and Stanton's families would probably be done for General Anderson's.

Congress is soon to adjourn. The reflection is almost a compensation for the suffering endured during its session. If it were not for the feeling of loyalty of the people, and the almost certainty that a Democratic success would be repudiation and surrender to old Southern leaders, there is but little doubt but that the Republican party would lose control of the country at the next election. Lack of attention

to material interests, wrangling among themselves, dividing and allowing the few Democrats to be the balance to fix amendments to every important measure (and voting against the whole bill when brought to a vote), attacking each other and the administration when any individual's views were not conformed to, has put the party in a very bad light. I think everything will be right two years hence, and that members see the errors they have committed. I shall hope so at least. If we had had a short session of Congress, and harmonious, the party would never have been on as strong a footing as now. All that was necessary to do was to pass the appropriation bills, admit the outstanding States, pass a funding bill and promise the people a reduction of eighty million of taxes at their next session. We could well spare that amount if the public debt bore but five per cent.

Letter xxxiii

Long Branch, N. J.,
August 22, 1870.

WHEN I wrote to you last, although it was but a few days before the declaration of war by France, I had no idea that such an event was even threatening. I was taken by surprise, as Napoleon admits he was in one of [King] William's attacks. The result, if we read right in our papers, has surprised me. I supposed from the declaration of war coming from the French they would be all ready, while the Prussians might not be fully so, and therefore, at the beginning, the French would have it all their own way. The Prussian military system is so perfect, however, that I believed singlehanded they would be too much for the French in the end. The war has developed the fact here that every unreconstructed rebel sympathizes with France, without exception, while the loyal element is almost as universally the other way. Poor Napoleon, I suppose, will retire to private life.

Letter xxxiv

Washington, D. C.,
May 26, 1872.

I WROTE you a long letter just before the meeting of the Cincinnati Convention, but as I did not complete it before that event, and as most of the letter was upon the subject of that convention, I did not send it. The work has been done, and no one is satisfied but Greeley himself and a few Tammany Republicans who expect office under him, if he is elected, and who know that under no other man could they be appointed to office. I predict that Greeley will not even be a candidate when the election comes off. The Democracy are not going to take him, and his following in the Republican ranks is not sufficient to make up an electoral ticket, nor is it composed of respectability enough to put on such a ticket. His nomination has had a good effect, however. It has apparently harmonized the party by getting out of it the "soreheads" and knaves who made all the trouble because

they could not control. The movement was egged on by the Democrats, the rank and file acting in good faith, until now the effect upon them is just what the leaders intended it should be upon the Republicans; it is dividing their party. Many of the Democratic papers, particularly in the South, have committed themselves so thoroughly that they will have to go to Baltimore on the 9th of July in support of Greeley. Many others will go there to break up the Cincinnati ticket by putting one of its candidates at the tail of a new ticket, and Adams, Davis, or Trumbull at the head. The old Hunkers will fight all such movements, and, in my judgment, will carry the day, but will create great disaffection in their ranks. We will soon see how my prediction comes out.

Letter xxxv

Long Branch, N. J.,
August 26, 1872.

YOUR confidential letter relating to the probable position of Curtin[21] was received during my last visit to Washington. He, Curtin, probably arrived in New York city yesterday, Sunday; but there is no communication between this and the outside world on Sunday except by telegraph, so that I do not know positively. I expect him to come and see me as soon as he does arrive, though I know he will be met on arrival, and everything possible will be offered him to corrupt him. The Greeleyites will be as liberal in their offers to him as Satan was to our Saviour, and with as little ability to pay. Curtin's defection would probably cost us the State of Pennsylvania in October, so far as the Governor and Legislature are concerned, but without him the Congressmen at large, three of them, and Judge of the Superior Court and other officers on the State ticket

would be elected, and we would carry the State in November.

I do not often indulge in predictions, but I have had a feeling that Greeley might not even be in the field in November. If he is, I do not think he will carry a single Northern State. In the South I give him Tennessee and Texas, with Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, and Arkansas doubtful, with the chances in our favor in all of them except Maryland. Missouri might also be added to the doubtful States.[22] This is the way matters look now, but they may be modified before November. We "shall see what we shall see" before long.

Letter xxxvi

Washington, D. C.,
October 25, 1872.

YOUR letter of the 11th October is just received, and I hasten to answer, as you request. I think it very doubtful about my going to Galena for the election, though I may do so. My judgment now is that the prediction which I made to you about the result of the November election will prove nearly right. Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Texas will probably cast their votes for Mr. Greeley. Missouri may do the same thing. It would not if we could have a fair election throughout the State. Some counties in that State are as bad as any portion of Georgia, and may lose us the electoral vote. Virginia is also a possible State for Mr. Greeley, though the chances are in our favor.

Letter xxxvii

Long Branch, N. J.,
August 23, 1875.

I HAVE been intending for a long time to write to you, but I have so got out of the way of writing social letters that I have not now left a single correspondent—not even in my own family—except on official business. I have nothing now special to say further than that I am always glad to hear from you. In political matters you keep posted through the press, and are no doubt struck with the chronic annual scare of the Republicans lest the Democrats should get into power. Just now the Ohio election is frightening them. They seem to feel as though the loss of Ohio this fall would insure a Democratic victory next year and lead to inflation of the currency, repudiation, the undoing of all that has been accomplished by the War and Republican Administrations in the way of reconstruction, and national disgrace. I take a much more hopeful view of the situation. I am anxious, of course, to see the

Republicans carry Ohio. But if they should not I would not feel in the least discouraged. The fact is that while Ohio is sound by one hundred thousand majority on the financial issue, and the Republicans have not a sound platform on that issue, and the Democrats a very unsound and dishonest one, if Ohio is lost in this election it will be on this question alone. So much time elapses between nominations and elections that the Democrats will all be whipped into line on the ground that the question now at issue is only which of the two parties they would rather see control the State. They are not voting for an executive of the nation, nor for lawmakers who can legislate on the subject of national finances. In the Republican ranks there are very many men who are in debt, or whose business has slackened, that think an abundant currency would help them out of their difficulties, and who will not vote, or if they do vote, it will be against their party. I believe that if the Democratic party carries Ohio this fall, it will give the repudiationists—for inflation means repudiation—such a prestige in the nominating convention next year that the hard-money men of the party, includ-

ing all from the Pacific Coast, all New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Texas, and some from other States, will split and put up two tickets as they did in 1860. If so, the race in 1876 will be an easy one. With a contrary result there will probably be but two tickets, both on a moderately sound financial platform.

I did not think of writing so much of a political letter as I have done, but it may interest you to hear private views on this subject. On the question of candidates for next year there seems to be nothing definite to base a prediction upon as to who will be the standard bearers.

Letter xxxviii

17, *Cavendish Square, London,*
June 9, 1877.

MY stay in London has been more protracted than I had intended, or will be before my accepted engagements are fulfilled. I have accepted invitations for every day up to and including the 26th of this month. On the 28th of June I will be at a banquet to be given in Liverpool. Within a few days of that time, most likely on the first day of July, I will be in Paris on my way to Switzerland. My stay will probably not reach more than a day or two beyond the 4th of July in Paris. The reception I have had in England so far has been very gratifying, and I think very complimentary to our country. I recognize the fact that it is more for the country all the compliments I am receiving are intended, than for me personally.

I will send my courier to Paris to secure quarters for our short stay, or will get General Torbert to do this for me. I will be compelled

to be very moderate in my expenditures, to correspond with my means. In fact, the extent of my visit abroad will depend entirely on how long I can stay upon the limited capital I have brought with me.

Letter xxxix

17, *Cavendish Square, London,*
June 16, 1877.

I SHALL follow your advice in regard to my visit to Paris. I will pass through on my way to Switzerland, possibly staying over two or three days in the city, but having it understood that I am only passing now, but will visit there again about the last of October —middle to last—when I will stay some six weeks. I have written to Mr. Harps, who was kind enough to invite me to a garden party on my arrival, to the same effect, saying, however, that I should be guided entirely by your judgment as to whether I should accept any invitations until my return in the fall. I will probably go over to Paris on the 6th of July, but will telegraph or write you the exact time of my departure.

The railroad company here has been kind enough to ask me to accept a special train to Dover, and from Calais to Paris, which will probably put me in advance of the regular train.

Letter xl

16, *Beaufort Gardens, London,*
June 22, 1877.

I HAVE determined to leave here for Paris on my way to Switzerland on the 5th of July. The Eastern Railroad Company have been kind enough to put a special train and boat at my service, which will put us through from London to Paris in eight hours. I want, as you advise, to have it understood that for the present I will be in Paris this time simply *in transitu*, and will make my visit of several weeks at a later period, probably about the middle or last of October. My party will consist of Mrs. Grant and maid, Jesse and myself, and a courier who will look out for himself. Our stay will not extend three days. You were kind enough to propose to engage apartments for us during our short stay; will you be good enough to take them according to the above programme, and advise me before my arrival.

Letter xli

Gebrüder Drexel, Hoflieferanten, Frankfurt,
July 19, 1877.

YOUR letter expressing regret that you could not be at the dinner given last evening reached me in the afternoon too late to answer until this A. M. The dinner was a most pleasant affair, and the grounds about where it was given surpass anything I have ever seen for beauty and exquisite taste horticulturally. I am sorry you could not be here, but understand how impossible it is under the circumstances, having a family to move for the summer, to start off at a moment's notice. I must leave here on Monday next to carry out my designs. I go direct from here to Luzerne, Switzerland, to commence the tour of that country. Having delayed so by the way I will have to be satisfied with a couple of weeks in Switzerland. It is my intention to visit Denmark, Norway and Sweden, so as to return to Scotland by the last week in August, to do up that part of the island of Great Britain. I will

not be in Paris now before the middle to the last of October. I hope I may meet you there at that time.

If Mr. Davis, our Minister to Germany, is with you, please say to him for me that I received his very kind note at the same time I did yours. If he goes to Switzerland I shall hope to meet him there, and also Mrs. Davis. But I would not have him go to Berlin on my account. If there at all this summer it will be but for a single day on my return this way, and then to pay a longer visit to the German capital; possibly I may do so this fall after my visit to Scotland.

Letter xlii

Paris,
October 7, 1878.

I AM just in receipt of your very welcome letter of the 23d of September. I have no recollection of receiving a letter from you written about the time of your departure from Paris. I am sure I should have answered, had such a letter reached me. The last communication I remember anything of was either a letter or dispatch—the latter, I think—received by me at Frankfort, in answer to mine stating the time I would remain there. I was very sorry not to meet you there.

As you say, it is bliss to be out of the United States just at a time when all the bad elements in the country are seemingly carrying everything before them. It is to be hoped, and I think confidently to be relied upon, that all the isms will have run their course before 1880. It is incomprehensible that men—not to say a majority—could be found who are willing to upset the country financially just at a time

when we have got so near to specie payments, when we have established the highest credit known among nations, and when general prosperity to the country is just dawning. The whole Democratic party cried itself hoarse over the outrage upon the Constitution when the nation, in its desperation, adopted the "legal tender note." Every Democratic judge upon the supreme bench, I believe, gave a judicial opinion against the constitutionality of the act, and every Republican member of the court sustained it only on the ground of imperative necessity, a means to save the nation's life, on the ground of self-defense and self-preservation justifying the means. Now the whole party seems to be willing to issue an unlimited quantity of this money in spite of their previous declaration, in spite of the solemn promise that above a certain amount—400,000,000—should not be issued, in spite of the solemn obligation that those issued should be redeemed in coin, understood at the time to be gold coin. I believe I am right in this statement of the views of the Supreme Court on the money question. . . .

We leave here in a few days for Spain and

Portugal. When we have visited those countries we will have been in every country in Europe, and a little of Africa and Asia. I have enjoyed it all very much, but often feel homesick to get back. If I should go back now, however, I would have no home to go to. In the spring I would have my Long Branch home, where I could stay through the summer and make arrangements for the winter. Mrs. Grant joins me in kindest regards to Mrs. Washburn and the children, as well as to yourself. I will always be glad to hear from you, and hope I shall not prove negligent in answering.

Letter xliii

Paris,
December 24, 1878.

YOUR very welcome letter of November the 24th was awaiting me here on my return to Paris some ten days since. I was very glad to hear from you again, but sorry to learn the cause of the detention of your family East this winter. I hope your daughter is improving, and that she will soon be restored to entire health.

You have seen by the papers that I have determined to go home by India, China, and Japan. This will not probably delay my return, but it will land me in San Francisco about the time I expected to reach Philadelphia—say the last of June. If we get to San Francisco as early as that or nearly so, I shall want to remain on the Pacific coast six weeks or two months. I spent two years there in early life, and always felt the greatest desire to make it my future home. Nothing ever fell over me like a wet blanket so much as my promotion

to the lieutenant-generalcy. As junior major-general in the regular army I thought my chances good for being placed in command of the Pacific division when the war closed. As lieutenant-general all hope of that kind vanished. You wrote me that you had been all over the Pacific coast before, and how much interested you were in that country.

I anticipate great pleasure from the trip before me. The fact is, I take much more interest in seeing countries but seldom visited by foreigners than in seeing those where one comes but little in contact with others than those foreign to the soil visited. I shall endeavor to profit by the journey, even if I should write nothing. So far I have abstained from giving my views about the institutions and people of the countries I have already visited. The fact is, however, that I have seen nothing to make me regret that I am an American. Our country, its resources, the energy, ingenuity, and intelligence of the people, etc., is more appreciated abroad than at home. If our politicians and people could see us as others see us, and see how much better off all producing classes are with us than in the most favored nation of

Europe, they would have much less to complain of and more to be thankful for.

I am much pleased with the result of the November elections. It seems to me to put the Republican party right for 1880. Providence seems to direct that something should be done just in time to save the party of progress and national unity and equality. The Potter investigating committee and the financial question did it the last time.

My mails for two months from this time should be sent to United States Consul, Bombay. I shall always be pleased to hear from you.

Letter xliv

Singapore, Straits Settlements,
April 4, 1879.

SINCE my last letter to you I have seen much of the world new to me, and but little visited by our countrymen. The reality is different from my anticipations as to climate, characteristics of the natives, the governments that have been forced upon them, etc., etc. My idea had been rather that English rule in this part of the globe was purely selfish, all for the benefit of "Old England" and pampered sons sent here to execute laws enacted at home, and nothing for the benefit of the governed. I will not say that I was all wrong, but I do say that Englishmen are wise enough to know that the more prosperous they can make the subject, the greater consumer he will become, and the greater will be the commerce and trade between the home government and the colony, and greater the contentment of the governed. This quarter is governed on that theory, and, as far as my opportunities have

given me the power to judge, by a most discreet, able, and well-chosen set of officials. My opinion is that if the English should withdraw from India and the East, they would scarcely get off the soil before the work of rapine and murder and wars between native chiefs would begin. The retrograde to absolute barbarism would be more rapid than progress toward civilization is possible; it would be almost instantaneous. As Mr. Young, who is traveling with me, gives accurate and detailed accounts of every place we visit, and all we see, nothing of this sort is necessary from me. I keep somewhat careful notes, however,—have since leaving Paris for the East,—but doubt whether I shall ever use them further than for my own reference.

The weather is getting very warm in this section, and we must expect a good deal of it before we get to a cool climate. In a few days we start for Bangkok, Siam, and return here—within a degree of the equator—to take steamer for Hong Kong. I shall then visit Chinese ports as far north as Shanghai, and possibly go to Pekin before visiting Japan. It looks now as if we would reach San Francisco as early as

August. I am both homesick and dread going home. I have no home, but must establish one after I get back. I do not know where.

Letter xlv

Government House, Hong Kong,
May 4, 1879.

I AM just in receipt of your letter of the 4th of February from San Antonio. I was in San Antonio in December, 1845, when it was but little else than a Mexican town and isolated from all settlements. From Corpus Christi to San Antonio there was not a family except a few Mexican settlers along the San Antonio River for some miles below the town. From there to Austin there was not a habitation except at New Bensfelt, which had been colonized, I think, that year.

We are now on the homestretch, letters going much quicker to America by the East than by the West. Up to this time myself and party have had the same hearty welcome and kind hospitalities as we experienced throughout India. It promises to be the same thing through China and Japan. At this place I have received official notification from both governments of their desire to make my stay among them as

pleasant as possible. This is really the most beautiful place I have yet seen in the East. The city is admirably built and the scenery is most picturesque. The harbor is made by the irregular high land on the main shore and innumerable islands coming up out of the sea and rising to a height of from 500 to 1,700 feet above. We go to-morrow to Canton, thence to Shanghai and Pekin. On the way we will make short stops at several China seaports. I expect to reach Yokohama about the last of June, and San Francisco late in August. I expect to remain on the Pacific for some weeks, and then go to Galena to remain until the weather gets cold. Where we will spend the winter I have not determined. We may go to Florida and Havana.

Letter xlvi

Nikko, Japan,
July 23, 1879.

SOME weeks since I received your letter written after you had received mine from Bombay. You had not received one from me written after your suggestion had been received to go to Galena on my return home. I answered that letter, saying that I should go there, and presume you received it after yours was written. Lest you may not have received it, however, I repeat that it has been my intention to go to Galena on my return.

Since my last to you I have visited the principal seacoast cities in China, and Pekin in the interior, and have now been nearly a month in this most interesting country and among these interesting people. China stands where she did when her ports were first opened to foreign trade. I think I see dawning, however, the beginning of a change. When it does come China will rapidly become a powerful and rich nation. Her territory is vast and is full of resources,

agricultural, mineral; iron, coal, copper, silver, and gold, besides nearly every other metal, abound as they do with us. The population is industrious, frugal, intelligent, and quick to learn. They are natural artisans and tradesmen. From Bombay to Hong Kong they monopolize all the trades—mechanical—the market gardening, trucking, stevedoring, small shopkeeping, etc., and are rapidly driving out the larger merchants. They cannot do so well, however, in their own country. They must have the protection of a better and more honest government to succeed. Neither the country, cities, nor people present attractions to invite the traveller to make a second visit. Japan is different. The country is beautiful beyond description. Every street and every house is as clean as they can be made. Good water prevails everywhere and it is freely used. The progress that has been made in the last dozen years is almost inconceivable. Free schools abound all over the land, giving facilities for every child, male and female, to get a fair education. Attendance is almost compulsory between certain ages. In the cities they have academies, colleges, and normal schools,

both to prepare males and females. It has been my privilege to visit at Tokio (Yeddo) their military and naval academies, their school of science, their college, their normal school for young ladies, a very large school for children, taught by female teachers prepared at the normal school, and other places of learning. The two former compare very well with our own military and naval academies in course taught, discipline, drill, and progress of the students. A student to enter the school of science must be a good English scholar, and after entering all his text books and recitations are in English.

The course is six years, the last two in application of what they learned in the first four. A portion of each year—taking the place of vacation with us—is also spent in the workshops, making parts of machinery, models of engines, of looms, machinery for spinning and weaving, etc., etc. Many of their teachers are natives, though the studies are in English. It will be but a few years before they will be able to dispense with foreign instruction entirely.

We leave for home by the "City of Tokio," which will sail from Yokohama about the 27th

of August. I shall be glad to be settled down at home. . . .

I forgot to mention that students to enter the college must study English five years first, making a nine-year course. Here, too, they have one or two native professors.

Letter xlvii

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
December 22, 1879.

SINCE my arrival here I have scarcely had time to read my mail, much less answer it. The people of Philadelphia have shown a cordiality unsurpassed, but they have kept me so constantly going that I have not been able to see what the papers say about it. But I suppose it is all reported. I have determined to leave here for the South on Saturday next. I hope you can go along. I rather expect Sheridan and Fred and their wives. But this is not yet certain. We will remain in Washington over Sunday and Monday, so our start will really be from there on Tuesday the 30th. I have seen Mr. DeFranch. I did not look at his letters, because I had not the time, and I knew what they contained from persons who did see them. They amount substantially to a promise of funds for the construction of a canal if all the conditions are right. I expressed my interest in the enterprise, and the interest

I had taken in it for a good many years, and my willingness to aid it all I could so long as it seemed to be in honest hands; but that I could give no promise of further connection with it than my good offices until a proper concession was obtained, the money subscribed, and every preliminary arranged to insure the completion of the work, and then I would determine whether I would take a more active part. After all other preliminaries are arranged it will take a complete working season in the tropics to determine positively whether the undertaking is entirely practicable or not.

If you do not go South with us I will write you again from Florida.

Letter xlviii

St. Augustine, Florida,
January 18, 1880.

I WROTE you a hasty letter from Philadelphia, but do not know whether you received it. Our trip through the South has been, so far, without an incident to mar the pleasure of it. All the way from Washington the people of all classes and colors were at the stations to meet the train and to extend invitations for myself and party to stop and accept their hospitalities. The business boom has reached the South, and the people are beginning to feel much better contented in consequence. I am very much pleased with Florida. The winter climate is perfection, and I am told by Northern men settled here that the summers are not near so hot here as in the North, though of longer continuance. This State has a great future before it. It has the capacity to raise all the sugar and semi-tropical fruits the whole country needs, besides supplying vast amounts of timber, early vegetables,

nice material for paper, rope, bagging, coarse matting, etc. It affords the best opening to be found in any country for young men of little means but full of energy, industry, and patience. The impetus given already will supply in a few years all the semi-tropical fruits required by the country. What is now wanted is the establishment of moderate sugar mills over the country, to buy all the sugar cane small farmers will furnish. The State is underlayed and has around it deposits of valuable fertilizers sufficient for many generations. If you do not join me in Cuba I hope you will come here to spend March and April. I do not doubt but you would receive much benefit from the visit.

I will sail from Cedar Keys for Havana on the 20th. The Secretary of the Navy has placed at Havana a vessel at my command. I think I shall make an excursion to Hayti, St. Domingo, Porto Rico, and Jamaica, and swing around by Yucatan, so as to reach Vera Cruz about the 15th of February. When I return it will be by the way of Galveston and Denver. At the latter place and in Colorado generally I expect to stop until the weather is pleasant in Galena, say about the 10th of May. I shall be

very much pleased to meet you in Havana and have you go on this trip to the West Indies, if you are sailor enough to enjoy the excursion.

Letter xlix

Havana, Cuba,[23]
February 2, 1880.

YOUR letter of the 25th of January is just received. The same mail brings New York papers of the 29th, by which I see you were in that city at that time. Your letter directed to me in Washington city was received there, but I neglected to mention it. I see by the papers the same that you mention about . . . I predict that it will do him no good, and as far as it may affect me I care nothing about it. All that I want is that the government rule should remain in the hands of those who saved the Union until all the questions growing out of the war are forever settled. I would much rather any one of many I could mention should be President rather than that I should have it. On that subject I stand just as I told you in Chicago. I shall not gratify my enemies by declining what has not been offered. I am not a candidate for anything, and if the Chicago convention nomi-

nates a candidate who can be elected, it will gratify me, and the gratification will be greater if it should be some one other than myself. In confidence I will tell you I should feel sorry if it should be . . . Blaine I would like to see elected, but I fear the party could not elect him. He would create enthusiasm, but he would have opposition in his own party that might lose him some Northern States that the Republicans should carry.

My reception here has been more than cordial by both officials and the people. The weather is sultry, just such as we run from at home in the dog days. If this winter is a sample, Florida is a much better winter resort.

Please present Mrs. Grant's and my best regards to Mrs. Washburn and your family, with the same to yourself. I shall be pleased to hear from you in the City of Mexico.

Letter I

Galveston, Texas,
March 25, 1880.

YOUR letter of the 11th of February only reached Mexico by the mail but one before my departure. I was away from the City of Mexico at the time on an excursion to the Rio Del Monte silver mines, and did not return until after the departure of the steamer bringing it. Yours of the 26th of February was taken by the steamer on which I returned. There was no opportunity of answering either, therefore, earlier, or so that you could receive it earlier than by writing from here.

In regard to your suggestion that I should authorize some one to say that in no event would I consent to ever being a candidate after 1880, I think any statement from me would be misconstrued, and would only serve as a handle for my enemies. Such a statement might well be made after the nomination, if I am nominated in such a way as to accept. It is a

matter of supreme indifference to me whether I am or not. There are many persons I would prefer should have the office to myself. I owe so much to the Union men of the country that if they think my chances are better for election than for other probable candidates in case I should decline, I cannot decline if the nomination is tendered without seeking on my part. Mexico shows many signs of progress since I was there thirty-two years ago. Railroads are pushing out slowly from the capital, and with every advance greater prosperity and employment for the poor follow. I think it should be the policy of our government now to cultivate the strongest feelings of friendship between the people of the two republics. Soon we will have railroad connection between the two countries, and our people will begin to mix and become better acquainted. Mexico can, and will, raise all the tropical and semi-tropical products which we now buy from countries that take nothing from us in exchange, except sterling exchange, and will take from us in return the products of our manufacturers. Americans are beginning now to work their mines. Soon they will be cultivating their sugar, coffee, and to-

bacco plantations, running their factories, doing their banking, etc. I go to San Antonio for a day or two, thence to New Orleans, and up the river to Memphis. I will probably run over to Hot Springs from the latter place, to absorb time until the weather in Galena becomes pleasant. I do not care to arrive there before the first of May.

NOTES

Notes

LETTER I. *Note* 1. . . . *Mr. Rawlins* . . .

John A. Rawlins (1831-1869), joined General Grant's staff in August, 1861, and served with him to the close of the rebellion. He became Secretary of War in March, 1869. Grant was greatly attached to him, and deeply mourned his death.

LETTER II. *Note* 2. . . . *Captain A. S. Baxter* . . .

While the world was honoring General Grant on the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth, Algernon Sidney Baxter (1819-1897), one of the earliest members of his staff, was dying. He was a son of the Chief Justice of Vermont, and at the age of seventeen went to Boston, the Mecca of most New England boys. When the war began he was a merchant in St. Louis, where he became acquainted with Grant. He immediately abandoned business for the army, serving on the General's staff at Fort Donelson and Shiloh, with the rank of captain. At Shiloh, Baxter carried to General Lew Wallace that celebrated dispatch which has caused so much dispute. Grant, in his "Personal Memoirs," says: "Captain Baxter, a quartermaster on my staff, was accordingly directed to go back and order General Wallace to march immediately to Pittsburg by the road nearest the river. Captain Baxter made a memorandum of this

order. . . . General Wallace has since claimed that the order delivered to him by the captain was simply to join the right of the army." Baxter's condition of health compelled him soon after to leave the service, when he entered Wall Street, pursuing a successful career in the great metropolis, where he died at the age of seventy-eight. He was the last survivor of those who served on Grant's staff in the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh.

LETTER III. *Note* 3. . . . *Colonel C. C. Washburn* . . .

Cadwallader Colden Washburn (1818-1882), colonel Second Wisconsin Cavalry, October 10, 1861; brigadier general, July 16, 1862; and major general, November 29, 1862. After the Civil War he was elected to Congress and in 1872, became Governor of Wisconsin. Later he was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate. His brother, also a Congressman, wrote the family name with a final "e," but in no instance within the editor's knowledge did Grant ever add that letter when writing to Mr. Washburne.

LETTER III. *Note* 4. . . . *Clarkesville* . . .

Suit was brought after the war for about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars by the owners of whiskey in Clarkesville, destroyed as a matter of precaution by a chosen committee, to prevent its falling into the hands of the victorious Northern army, said to be advancing on the town,—its commander being reported as intoxicated, and utterly unable to control his troops. The

owners brought suit in 1865 against the members of the committee, consisting of the wealthiest citizens of the town. At the first trial the jury disagreed as to whether Grant was drunk or sober, the decision in the case turning on that point; in the second the verdict was that the commander was intoxicated, and on the third trial that he was perfectly sober, so that the committee finally lost their case and were compelled to pay, but not the full value of the whiskey, as the parties compromised the case, receiving about twenty per cent. of its value. This statement was received in August, 1897, by the writer, from a United States District Judge of Tennessee, who was one of the counsel employed in the curious case.

LETTER V. *Note* 5. . . . *in our present cause.*

About the same period the General says in a letter to his father: "You must not expect me to write in my own defence, nor to permit it from any one about me. I know that the feeling of the troops under my command is favorable to me, and so long as I continue to do my duty faithfully it will remain so. I require no defenders." In his second inaugural address Grant gave expression to his sense of the injustice done to him by shameful and vindictive criticism, saying in conclusion, "Throughout the war and from my candidacy to the present office, in 1868, to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander, scarcely ever equalled in political history, which

to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard, in view of your verdict, which I most gratefully accept as my vindication."

LETTER VII. *Note* 6. . . . *Colonel Ransom.*

Thomas E. G. Ransom (1834-1864), major Eleventh Illinois Infantry, July 30, 1861; colonel, February 15, 1862; and brigadier general, November 29, 1862. He was among the most gallant of our young volunteer officers of the Army of the Tennessee.

LETTER VIII. *Note* 7. . . . *Mr. Leonard Swett* . . .

Leonard Swett (1825-1889), a successful Illinois lawyer and an intimate friend of President Lincoln, made the nomination speech for the latter in the Chicago Convention of 1860, which the writer happened to hear, and in 1887 he delivered the oration at the unveiling of the Lincoln Statue in Chicago. During the war Mr. Swett had charge of a large number of cases for the Government, earning a high reputation both as a civil and as a criminal lawyer. He said to Grant at Cairo, "We are the lowest bidders and insist upon having the contract; if not, the matter will be placed before the President;" to which the General calmly replied, "I shall buy the hay in open market at a lower rate than you offer it, and will transport the hay on your road [the Illinois Central], of which I shall take immediate possession." Grant then added, "If I find you in this military district at the expiration of twenty-four hours, you

will be imprisoned and probably shot." Hastening to Washington the indignant lawyer laid the matter before Lincoln, who said, "Well, Swett, if I were in your place, I should keep out of Ulysses Simpson's bailiwick, for to the best of my knowledge and belief Grant will keep his promise if he catches you in Cairo. In fact, Leonard, you had better 'take to de woods,' as the colored brother remarked." Mr. Swett, who in later years became one of the General's greatest admirers, and who was one of the 306 that strongly urged Grant's nomination for a presidential third term, told this story as here related by the present writer.

LETTER X. *Note* 8. . . . *Senator Wilson* . . .

Henry Wilson of Massachusetts (1812-1875), who in 1872 was elected Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with General Grant.

LETTER X. *Note* 9. . . . *Dana* . . .

Charles A. Dana (1819-1897), Assistant Secretary of War, and late editor of the New York Sun.

LETTER X. *Note* 10. . . . *Maltby* . . .

Jasper A. Maltby (1826-1867), lieutenant colonel Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, August, 1861; colonel, November 29, 1862, and brigadier general, August 4, 1863.

LETTER XII. *Note* 11. . . . *Our troops behaved most magnificently, and have inflicted on*

the enemy the heaviest blow they have received during the war.

"After having broken the impedimenta which closed the passage of the Mississippi, it is again Grant," writes the Count of Paris of the victory at Chattanooga, "who has just opened the doors of Georgia. The Federal armies have at last found the warrior worthy to lead them. The bold and skilful manœuvres which began in the valley of Lookout Mountain, and terminated a month later near the spot where Bragg and Davis had contemplated a Union army besieged at their feet, enhance the glory of the conqueror of Vicksburg. He has proved that his mind, powerful to conceive, firm to execute, is fertile in resources at the critical time."

LETTER XVI. *Note* 12.

This cipher dispatch is included among the Grant-Washburne correspondence, and was probably sent to the latter by the General at the same time that the original was telegraphed to the President.

LETTER XX. *Note* 13. . . . *the completion of the medal* . . .

Presented to General Grant by Congress for the capture of Vicksburg and opening the Mississippi River from Cairo to the Gulf of Mexico; also for his great victory at Chattanooga.

LETTER XXII. *Note* 14. . . . *Mr. Stuart* . . .

George Hay Stuart (1816-1890), an opulent merchant

and philanthropist, of Philadelphia, who was twice offered a position in General Grant's Cabinet.

LETTER XXV. *Note* 15. . . . *General Dix* . . .

John Adams Dix (1798-1879). Nominated as United States Minister to France.

LETTER XXV. *Note* 16. . . . *that ever emanated from any President.*

The quarrel between President Johnson and the Republican majority in Congress was at this time at its height. Every bill vetoed by the President was passed over his veto.

LETTER XXV. *Note* 17. *Jerry Black* . . .

Jeremiah S. Black (1810-1883), Attorney General in Buchanan's Cabinet, and the successor of General Cass as Secretary of State.

LETTER XXVIII. *Note* 18. . . . *In accepting it I do so with regret that your health will not permit you to continue in the office or in some Cabinet position.*

Mr. Washburne was soon after appointed by General Grant American Minister to France. During the siege of Paris he remained at his post when many of the representatives of other powers fled from the city.

LETTER XXIX. *Note* 19. . . . *Hon. J. F. Wilson* . . .

James F. Wilson (1828-1895), for two terms United States Senator from Iowa.

LETTER XXX. *Note* 20. . . . *McCulloch* . . .

The Hon. Hugh McCulloch (1808-1895), Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Lincoln, Johnson and Arthur.

LETTER XXXV. *Note* 21. . . . *Curtin* . . .

Andrew Gregg Curtin (1817-1894), was appointed Minister to Russia by General Grant in 1869. On his return in 1872 he earnestly supported Horace Greeley for the presidency.

LETTER XXXV. *Note* 22. . . . *might also be added to the doubtful States.*

Mr. Greeley (1811-1872), carried only the six States of Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas.

LETTER XLIX. *Note* 23. *Havana, Cuba.*

Replying to an inquiry concerning the defences of Havana, the General in a communication to a friend writes a few years after the date of his letter from Cuba: "On my visit to Havana three years ago, I had an opportunity of seeing the forts and the armament. Both are formidable, and with additions that could easily be

made before any country could attack them, impregnable from direct attack. But I should not regard Havana as a difficult place to capture with a combined army and navy. It would have to be done, however, by effecting a landing elsewhere and cutting off land communications with the army, while the navy would perform the same service on the water. The hostility of the native population to the Spanish authority would make this a comparatively easy task for any first-class power, and especially easy for the United States in case of a war with Spain."

INDEX

Index

ADAMS, Charles Francis . . 70
Adams, Mrs. Charles Francis . . 38
Allen, Robert 19, 20
American people 66
Anderson, Robert 66
Army of the Tennessee . . . 28
Arthur, Chester A. 118

Bangkok, Siam 90
Baxter, Algernon S. . . 3, 111, 112
Black, Jeremiah S. . . . 52, 117
Blaine, James G. 104
Blair, Francis P. W. . . . 57
Bombay, India 88, 95
Bragg, Braxton 116
British Rule in India . . . viii
Bowers, Theodore S. 38
Brown, Joseph E. 53
Buchanan's Cabinet 117

Cabinet position 117
Cairo, Illinois . . . 1, 3, 18, 19
Calais, France 79

Call for Troops 36
Canton, China 93
Carlyle, Thomas x
Cass, Lewis 117
Cedar Keys, Florida 101
Christian Commission 48
Chattanooga, Battle of . . 31, 116
Chattanooga, Tennessee . . 30, 31, 32
Chicago Convention 114
Chicago Nominations 103
Chinese Ports 90
Christmas, 1865 49
Cincinnati Convention 69
Civil War, 1861-65 112
City of Mexico 104, 105
City of Tokio 96
City Point, Virginia . 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 45
Clarkesville, Tennessee . . 5, 112
Cold Harbor, Virginia 34
Colorado 101
Confederate Government 16
Confederate States 28
Covington, Kentucky 14, 15
Corinth, Mississippi 10, 13
Corpus Christi, Texas 92
Culpepper Court House 33

Cumberland River 7
Curious Trial 112
Curtin, Andrew G. 71, 118

Davis, J. C. Bancroft 82
Davis, Jefferson 116
DeFranch, Mr. 98
Democratic Party 75, 81
Demcratic Success 66
Dickey, T. Lyle 13
Dix, John Adams 52, 117
Divided North 38
Dodge, Willliam E. 58
Donelson, Fort 4, 6, 111, 112

Eastern Railway Company . . . 80
East Tennessee 57
English in India 90
European Tour 65

Federal Armies 116
Fifteenth Amendment 64
First Class Powers 119
Florida, Climate of 100
Fortieth Congress 60
Franco-German War 68
Frankfort, Germany 81, 83
Fremont, John C. 2

Galena, Illinois . 47, 48, 50, 57, 73, 93, 94, 101, 107
Galveston, Texas 101
Georgetown, D. C. 48
Gladstone, William E. . . . ix
Grenada, Mississippi 22
Grant, Frederick D. 98
Grant at Cairo 114, 115
Grant, Anecdote of 114
Grant, Mrs. Julia D. . 45, 80, 85, 104
Grant's Cabinet 117
Grant's Gold Medal 116
Grant's Nomination 115
Grant, U. S. vii, viii, ix, 111, 112, 113, 116
Grant-Washburne Letters . . . 116
Great Commanders viii
Greeley, Horace . 69, 70, 72, 73, 118
Greeleyites, The 71
Grinnell, Moses H. 58
Gulf of Mexico 116
Halleck, Henry W. . . 8, 9, 15, 27
Havana, Cuba . . 93, 101, 102, 103, 118
Havana easily taken 111
Hong-Kong, China . . . 90, 92, 95
Hooker, Joseph 31

Howlett House 44
Hunter, David 24

Illinois Central Railway . . . 114
Illinois Infantry, Eleventh . . 16, 114
Illinois Infantry, Forty-fifth . . 115
Iuka, Battle of 22

Japanese, The viii
James River 43
Jefferson City, Missouri . . . 1
Jo Daveiss County 48
Johnson, Andrew . . 52, 57, 117, 118
Johnson, Reverdy 53
Jones, J. Russell . . . 53, 54
Judah, General 13

La Grange, Tennessee . . . 18
Lee's Virginia Army 35
Lieutenant-General 33
Lincoln, Abraham . . viii, 36, 114, 115
Lincoln, Anecdote of 115
Lincoln Administration . . . 118
Lincoln Statue Address . . . 114
Liverpool, England 77
London 77, 79, 80
Long Branch, N. J. . . . 71, 74, 85
Lookout Mountain . . . 31, 116

McClellan, George B. 8
McCulloch, Hugh . . . 63, 118
McGarrahan Claim . . . 60, 61
McPherson, James B. . . 24, 25
Maltby, Jasper A. . . . 28, 115
Maryland Raid 37
Meade, George G. 41
Memphis, Tennessee . . . 16, 22, 107
Mexico progressing 106
Mexican Settlers 92
Mississippi River 116
Missionary Ridge 31
Milwaukee, Wisconsin . . . 4
Napoleon the Third . . . 64, 68
Nashville, Tennessee 5
New England Boys 111
New Orleans, Louisiana . . 55, 107
New York City 49
New Yorkers 58
New York Papers 103
Nikko, Japan 94
North and South 28
North American Review . . . viii
Northern Army 112
Northern Illinois 30

November Elections . . . 72, 73, 88
Old England 89
October Elections 57
Pacific Coast 86
Paris, Count of 116
Paris . . . 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86
Paris, Siege of 117
Peace Friends 39
Pekin, China 90, 93, 94
Pennsylvania 71
Personal Memoirs 111
Philadelphia Cordiality . . . 98
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania . . 47, 86, 98
Pittsburg Landing 111
Pope, John 14
Porto Rico 101
Potomac, Army of the 27
Potomac River 11
Prentiss, Benjamin M. . . . 2
Presidential Candidate . . . 105
Prussian King 68
Ranson, Thomas E. G. . . 17, 114
Rawlins, John A. . . 1, 24, 29, 45, 62, 66, 111
Reconstruction Measures . . 52, 55

Republican Administration . . . 74
Republican Party 66
Repudiationists 75
Richmond, Virginia 36
Rio del Monte 105
Rosecrans, William S. 22
St. Augustine, Florida . . . 100
San Antonio, Texas . . . 92, 107
San Antonio River 92
San Domingo 101
San Francisco 86, 90, 93
Saratoga, New York 62
Savannah, Tennessee 6
Scott, Winfield 37
Semi-tropical Fruits 106
Seventeenth Corps 34
Shanghai, China . . . 90, 93
Sheridan, Philip H. . . . 55, 98
Sherman, William T. . . . 34, 50
Shiloh, Battle of . . . 111, 112
Singapore Settlements 89
Slave-Hunters 40
Sixteenth Corps 34
Slocum, Henry W. 34
Southern Leaders 66
Spanish Authority 119

Spain, War with 119
Staff Officers 33
Stanton, Edwin M. . . viii, 13, 15, 66
Stephens, Alexander H. . . . 28
Stewart, Alexander T. . . . 58
Stuart, George H. . . . 48, 116
Supreme Court, United States . . 84
Swett, Leonard 18, 21, 114
Switzerland 77, 79, 81

Tennessee River 7, 11
Tokio (Yeddo) 96
Torbert, Alfred T. A. . . . 77
Trumbull, Lyman 70

United States 83, 119

Vera Cruz, Mexico 101
Vicksburg, Conqueror of . . . 116
Vicksburg, Mississippi . . 27, 34

Wallace, Lewis . . . 111, 112
Wallace, W. H. L. 13
War Administration 74
Washburn, Cadwallader C. 4, 24, 26, 34, 112
Washburne, Elihu B. . . . vii, 117
Washburne, Hempstead . . . vii, 5
Washburne, Mrs. E. B. 46, 49, 64, 85, 104

Washington, D. C. 14, 43, 45, 47, 49, 52, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 69, 73, 100, 103
Washington, George ix
West Indies 102
Western Tennessee 16
White House 52
Wilson, Henry 27, 41, 115
Wilson, James F. . . . 60, 61, 118
Wilson, James H. 24
Wisconsin Cavalry, Second 112
Yates, Richard 30
Yazoo Pass, Mississippi . . 23, 24
Yazoo River 24, 26
Yokohama, Japan 93, 96
Young, John Russell 90
Young's Point, Mississippi 23

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